4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TABLE 1—DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES
(Census of 1950)

Municipalities	Area in sq. km.	Tzeltal-speakers	Spanish-speakers	Total Population
North Zone:				
Sitala	550	5,435	1,385	6,821
Yajalon	145	6,026	4,010	10,036
Chilon	462	9,049	2,070	11,118
Ocosingo	12,143	9,170	3,770	12,940
Subtotal	13,300	29,680	11,235	40,915
Central Zone:				
Chanal	192	2,328	553	2,881
Oxchuc	42	4,074	1,338	5,412
Tenejapa	67	6,215	1,535	7,750
Altamirano	1,559	2,945	1,810	4,655
Subtotal	1,860	15,462	5,236	20,698
South Zone:				
Teopisca	270	754	4,601	5,355
Amatenango	355	1,773	756	2,529
Pinola	185	1,384	5,736	7,120
Subtotal	810	3,911	11,093	15.004
GRAND TOTAL	15,970	49,053	27,564	76,617

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TABLE 2—SPEAKERS OF TZELTAL
(Distribution by Zones)

Zones	Monolingual	Bilingual	Total
North Zone	23,429	8,251	31,680
Central Zone	11,291	4,171	15,462
South Zone	323	3,588	3,911
TOTAL	35,043	16,010	51,053

[P. 196-A]

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km.,
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
• 197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the country of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the Highland Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

At this point, before describing our trip up into the true mountain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an exhaustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages. At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable information. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the mountain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya. In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land, occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

*"The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion: his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Ernesto Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1902) has ethnographic material, and publishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1888) goes into the calendar in detail. For comparative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1925) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part, they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at all, is Lacandone territory.

Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal only by a shift of *a*, *e*, and *b* to Zotzil *o*, *i*, and *m*, respectively.* Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitan. The people of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues, probably the nearest to the Highland group.

The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal, Cendales, Tzental, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal*, varied in careless speech to *tceltal*. The villages are spoken of as tribes, because each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may resemble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first, followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the translation, if known.

The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of mahogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital, Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls, colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians, apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domination, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1908) quoting Sanches (1880).

APPENDIX III

COMPARATIVE WORD-LISTS

YOCOTAN, CHONTAL, TZELTAL, CHANEABAL, JACALTECA

The Yocotan dialect spoken at the villages of San Fernando and San Carlos, and neighbouring rancherias, near Macuspana in Tabasco, proves on comparison to be merely a variant of Chontal of the Chontalpa proper. The name Yocotan is retained because it is their own name for the dialect, and offers a substitute, if applied to the whole language, for the confusing Chontal, which is also applied to an entirely distinct, non-Mayance dialect of the Pacific Coast. Both Berendt* and Thomas and Swanton* have objected to this confusion.

Comparison with Tzeltal does not bear out the assertion, quoted in Thomas and Swanton, of Berendt,* and of Brinton, who had seen Berendt's unpublished material, that Chontal is only a form of Tzeltal. While undoubted similarities exist between the two dialects, enough to cause them to be classed in the same larger division of the Mayance stock,† the two do not belong together in the sense in which Tzeltal and Zotzil, or Tzeltal and Chaneabal are joined. Yocotan shows a greater number of lexical similarities to Maya proper, and in their resemblances to and variations from Maya the two languages do not agree.

Structurally, the Yocotan dialects are marked off from all the others of this group by their verb construction (see Appendix IV). The most notable point of this is that in Yocotan the possessive pronoun is ordinarily prefixed to the verb, while with the others a verbal-nominal pronoun is suffixed.

The graded variations and similarities from Yocotan all the way to Jacalteca cause one to wonder whether it is correct to take Maya as the type language for the stock, a position which at present seems to be based on historical priority rather than on linguistic grounds. Proper study both of sound-shifts and, especially, morphology, may possibly place in a new light the languages—Chol, Chorti, Tzeltal, Chaneabal—of Indians occupying the Old Empire terrain, partially surrounding the Lacandon country. It would, for instance,

*Thomas and Swanton, 1911, p. 68; Berendt, 1876, p. 9.
†Stoll, 1884, quoted by Tozzer, 1921; Gates, 1932. Sapper groups Chol, Chorti and Chontal.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

197 be of great interest could it be ascertained whether Tzeltal really is the parent tongue of Zotzil, or whether Zotzil, with its marked vocalic individuality, has not corrupted Tzeltal from an original form more closely allied to the lowland languages.

194 The alphabet used here is modeled on that of Dr. Tozzer,* with a few changes and some additions. It would, perhaps, be possible to enlarge the range of *k* sounds yet further, but the result would be only to make the present records needlessly difficult of comparison with the older lists.

PHONETICS. The languages recorded here closely resemble Maya itself in their phonetic system, although a slightly wider range of sounds, especially in the vowels, is found. This may in part be due to uncertainties of pronunciation; certain sounds occur differently in the same word spoken by different men, e. g., *ts'* and *tc'* in Tzeltal, final ' and *k* in Yocotan Chontal. If enough Indians could be questioned, a normal form could undoubtedly be derived from many of these alternates. The presence of the *k* fortis (*k'*), velar *k* (*q*), and the palatalized *g* (*x*), with the frequent stop ('), gives a wider range of *k* and *g* sounds than in Maya.† These, with the fortis forms of *t* and *p*, and the dental surds *ts* and *tc*, make the languages distinctly harsh and unpleasant to the ear. In addition, the Tzeltal and Chaneabal have an ugly, whining tone in ordinary conversation, very much increased when emphasis is desired. Yocotan has an unusual range of nasals.

193 CONSONANTS. The system of consonants includes one velar, three
194 palatals, alveolars, and a double set of dentals, both surd and fortis, a dorsal, nasal, and labials. It is difficult to distinguish between *b*, *p*, and *w*, although they are probably not interchangeable.‡ In Jacalteca the *p* at first appeared to be a *w*, but was found to be actually distinct; the sound is almost impossible to imitate.

Mention should be made of the added letter *r*, already suggested by Dr. Tozzer, who says:§

"I have been much perplexed by what I have long thought to be an *r* sound, possibly a sonant of the spirant. No mention of this sound is made in any of the early grammars and its presence is denied by the Mayas themselves. This sound I seem to have heard in several words written by Maya scholars with a double vowel . . . I have come to the conclusion to omit this sound from the list."

*Tozzer, 1921.
†Cf. Tozzer, op. cit., p. 17.
‡Tozzer, op. cit., p. 16, and Gates, 1930, p. 612.
§Ibid. page 18.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

did not like it and ran away. His place was taken by a younger man, Nicholas Cardon Niqol (the third names appear to be nicknames), but too much time had been lost to accomplish a great deal.

192 197 [128] In the printed lists, preference has been given to the first-named informant in each dialect, although when the variation is considerable, both versions are set down.

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
Abeja	tcanal-tcap tcap-tcul-tat-tik	yûm -tcap mu-yum olokte	tcupim
abuela	tcutcux tcutcun-el	kE-mim pan'ocip	ka-mam
abuelo	tat-mam-al (father-old-the)	kE-mop	ka-mam
agrio	bax	amuh-ba'*	pa
agua	ha'	ha'	ha
aguacero	tulan-ha-al (strong water)	no-ha (big water)	
alacrán	tsek	sina'	sina'
aliento			ik
alma	lap	pican	
alto	toyol	diski	iski
amarillo	k'an	kun	k'an
amo		yum	
andar	be-el	cuma'a ya-kE-te†	te camba
animal	tcam-ba'lam	Eluk'i	tcitam
año	hun hab-il hab sin-il	hun hap (future) hun habi (past)	
aquí	liil	nida[n]	
araña	ăm	t'oi	ah-toi‡
árbol	te	te	hun tsit-te
arcilla	tcav-ek lum (beeswax-earth)		
arco	timal-te yalab	wun-te	
cuerda del arco	ahci'al		
ardilla	tcute	tcutc	ictcute
arroyo	ukum	sañi-ha'	
asiento		tcumlip	tcunlip
áspero		ketscn	
atole		mats	mats
aya		nant'i	

*amuh, amo-, or amoo-, appearing in various adjectives, means very.
†In many verbs the informants gave the first person singular, present form. This may be detected by the pronominal kE. See Appendix III.
‡ah = the definite article.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
baile			ahk'out
barba	kisim	kE-tsuktik	tsutsti
balsa	poi		
banda		ku'tcinuk	
barca		no-hukup (big canoe)	
bastante	bisel	kččn	
blanco	tsak	tsuk	suk
blando		la'am / pukum	laam
bobo		tsitsuk	
boca	kě	kE-ti'	ati
bonito		pitsi'	
mujer			goodo ke pokem novicik
bosque	mukul hamal (big woods)		
brasero		pulvěnip	nitci kak
brazo	kap	kE-kup	kab
brujo	poci'	atsak'	ah tsataya (sacerdote indio)
	iluxhom		
bueno	lek	uts	uts
está b-	lek-ai (good-there is)	uts-an (good-there is)	
buho	koOts	buhup	ah-hu
caballo	tsemen	tsimin	
cabello		kE-tsuk	tsuk
cabeza	hol	kE-pam	ka-pam
caer			ta yelo
calabaza	tcum	tcum	tcum
calavera	sbak-el-hol-al	pama-tcim'i / k'an	a-tcime
caliente	kiicin	tiko'b	tiku
cama	waix-yiv-el	nute	tsen
camino	be	bil	bi
camisa		buk	
campo	huta-kin / akiltik	flam	campa
cangrejo	něp	aiy'uc	yue
caña	qwahale	oi	oh
caoba		atsutso	tsutsub
carne	bak	uye'e / bekta	vee
casa	na'	otOt	otot
casas		otOte	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
cayuco	*cayuca*	kûkûp	hûkub
cazar	muts-umihel	kola-tute'he (let us go hunting)	ya-ka-ce-te-lo-toHa (now I go hunting)
ceniza	tan	tsitañ	tsitan
cerca	hoŏpol	hEtsûk	natsa
cerro	wits	wits	
ciego	tupen-tsit	'ahtcOk'	tcek-uhul / atcuk
cielo	tc'utcan	*cielo*	*cielo*
ciervo		tcimai	tcimai
cojo			tcunuyek / petcOk
cola		ne	ne
colgar		kE-tcol-kE-tce (I-hang-I-do)	ka-tcu-ka-tce
collar		yentac	
comer		ko-yie	kostekucka
concha	puix	petak / tOt	
conejo	t'ul	a'-tûl	ah-tul
corazón	kŏtan	kEyo-pican	ka-halin / punika
correr	axnimal	ya-kE-tce'-tuañkre	
coser	espanyĕl	tcuwi'	
cuerpo	wink-ilel (man-entire)	kE-*cuerpo*	ka-*cuerpo*
culebra	tcan	tcañ	tcan
cuñada	bal	kE-mo'	
cuñado	bal	kE-n°an	
curar			ta tsakalka
danta	tseměn	te-el tsimin (woods beast)	
dar	aweyel		benet
débil	mankyip	mats-an-umuk (not-has-force)	pue-tcem
dedo		kE-nikûp	nikab
todos los d- d- del pie	lalatak	kE-pete'kûp / kE-niOk	
día	k'akal	k'in	
diablo		kwo'tak	manap
diente	ke	ke	ke
molares		kE-tcaam	muela
dios	tcun-tat-tik *dios* (our-father-of-us-all)	kEn-yum-la *dios* (our-master-of-us-all)	u-yum-kab

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YUCATAN	CHONTAL
dormir	waixy-el	te-weye	ta-vaye
dulce	tcab	tsa	tcab
duro		mo Etsuta	tsuts
echar suertes			u yakti ik
que sabe e-	labil		
eclipse	makisit k'akal	mukutee kuwa-kin	aitobni kin / muku kuckan kin
elote	axhan	teOk-icim	tcok-na
enfermo	tcamel (sickness) / aix tcamel (he has sickness)	amo-nkobo'lun / amon-kohu'lun	koHo
encantar	puku	ankotcuwen upican (force his soul)	tsataya.
encanto		jyaan	ah tsataya
e- adentro de la laguna		ta-manap (*cf. diablo*)	
escoba		misip	misip
escopeta		tsomba'	
escribir	tsibahel	kE-tsivan-hom-tsip	te-tsib
espalda		kopaat	tsumpat
espina	teic	teic	teic
espinazo	teiic-pat / mŏtco-bakel	tsompat	ubuke tsampat
esposo		k-itŏk	
esposa		k-itŏk	
esqueleto	teicil-bak / bak-el-etik		upete u-bak'e
estrella	ĕk'	ik	*lucero*
de mañana	tsĕk	ah-no-ik* (the-big-star)	
vespertina		ah-no-ik*	
pleiades (?)		tcookŏk (la que brilla)	
Ursa Major	cana-ek		
familia	bisil te-kal / te-kal-atak	kE *familia* / nats'ŭn tok'up (nosotros todos)	
feo		mate-uts	poeyik
fiesta	k'in		
f- del santo (May 13, Bachajon)	kan-k'in		
flecha	t'imal-te / tu-te	wun-te	
flor	nitcim	unite	nic-te
frente		kE-pŭl	ka-tihut / pul

* "They say it is the same star." (i. e., Venus).

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192			
197 frijol	tceneh / buul	bu'um / bu'u	bū
frio	sik	sis	tsis
fruta	sit	tsahE	
fuego	k'ak	k'ak'	k'ak'
hacer f-	wakEnuk k'ak / pas k'ak'	tcen-k'ak'	ka-tse-ve-k'ak'
fuente		buta	tcan
fuerte	tulan	amo-k'en-umuk'	pok'om
fuerza		ûmuk'	
gallina		piyuk	
ganado	gwakae (cow, Spanish)	pam-bcket (head-horned)	
gato	mis	mis	
gato montes	t'el tcox / wac		
grande	mukul	nok, noh, / lokŏnok	noH
grano	tcic	hun-cim	
guaracha	tep / tcahan	putcyok	
g- de cascara	canak		
hablar	k'op	k'aan / tcen'-tan	te-t'an
hacer	pas-el	kE-tcen	
hermana mayor	wic / gwic	kE-tcitc	ka-teitc
h- menor	kitsin	kE-kits'in	ka-tcitc
hermano mayor	bañk-il	kE-sukun	ka-sakun
h- menor	kitsin	kE-kits'in / wits'in	k'itsin
hierro	*hierro*	pal'ip	
hija	atcic	kE-yŏk-istcO'k	
hijo	nitcan	kE-yŏk-haxlO'k	
hilo	*hilo*	pui'	
hombre	winik / vinik	winik	vinik
hueso	bak-el	bak	bak
h- del tobillo		OkutkOk	
huipil		kamic	
huso	pětět	pětět	
iglesia		tcuuk'	tcu *iglesia*
iguana	tOlŏk	hŭ'	huh
incienso	pŏm	pOm	pom
jarrete		tcu-telkin	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YUCATAN	CHONTAL
jefe	yaxwhal	anoha / kE-xhwes	noh-van-vinik / noci-vinik
j- del pueblo		k-anoha-la tuwa-k'a (our-chief-of-us-all of-the-village)	
jícara	tsima', kax / tuts	tup, buc	tup
j- (rattle)	tcitcil / tsutsu	tcikic	
labrar (madera, etc.)	waluyel	pŭl	
lagarto	aihyin	Ehin	ahin
laguna	mukul-ha'	nap	*laguna*
lanza	fisig'a (?)	stcik-te	*lanza*
l- para pescados		tceki'biye	
lejos	lum-namal	muhnaăt	pwenat
lengua	kak'	kE-ak	ka-ak
la l-, (idoma)	ts'eltal	yoko'tan	
leon	tcambalam / tsáx-hal-tcox (red-the-tiger)	tcimai bāl'um	bal'am
lia		sum	Hote
ligero	ma-waal (not-heavy)	scĕp	pwe sop
liso		ts'eyyum	
luna	uH(halalme-tik)	uhi	u
llano		nun-ham	
llever	itceltai-il		
lluvias (tiempo de)	bayel-ka-haal / bayel-yac-stal-haal	amo-ken-ha' / ha'-leltin	non-ha
madera	te / te' eti	te'	te
madre	nan	na'	kă-na
maiz	icim	icim	icim
maléolo		kE-petcOk	
malo	ma-lĕk-uk	matc-uts	kanic / mats-uts
hombre m-	tcopal / malek-owotan (bad-his-heart)		
mañana (morning)	sakubal	isapan	ika sapan
mano	dyal-k'ap	kE-k'up	ka-nikab
mediodia	boli-kak'al	kEncin-k'in	
mente		kahalin	
mes	hun uh	hunpe-uhi*	

*Used for counting time of childbirth.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
miel	{axa-tcap, usum /tcap-tcul-tatik	te'cle tcap	tcap
mijilote		abalai'	
mono	mac	pŭm	ah-pum
monte	hamal	bwulena	bwenala
mojado		atch	
muchacha	ateic	yok'telum	
muchacho	{kere /kerem	{yokhaxlOhk /ah-lohk	
mucho	bayel	amo-k'en	k'en
muerte	{talteamel /tca-winik	ah-tcimi	ah-tcami
mujer	ants	icik	icik
murcielago	tsOts	tsûts	sûts
muslo		kE-wOk	
muy		{amos /icta	
nadar		nu'ci	
naranja		arancus (Spanish)	
n- agrio		pahala	
nariz	ni	kE-ni'	ni'
negro	ik'	ik	ik
nieta		k'-umam	ka-tcok-mama
nieto		kE-bit-umam (pl.)	
niño pequeño	tut-alat	tcik'stcOk (que todavia son de pecho)	
noche	ak'abal	{ehak'Ek /ak'ŭp	aitabni
norte	{kin haal /yaxtal-hale' (por aca viene el agua)	te-*norte*	
viento del n-		ben'dawal	
nuera		kE-hrip	
nuevo	{yateil /tomut	{tcOk* /sihip†	tsihib
ofrenda	matamniil (gifts)	{cux'hiwa /ateumpom (first fruits)	hisi utci hunpe si
ojo	sit	{kE-pu'ut /hut	hut
olorosa		mahatsin'na	
olla	ŏcom		
oreja	tcikin	kE-tcikin	tcikin

*For animals and human beings. †For inanimate objects.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
padre	tat	kE-pop	ka-pop
pájaro	mut	mut	mut
panacho		teim-pam	
pared	puk'	wOk'teč	
pecho		kE-tokpa'	pantis
pequeño	tut	tcOtcOk	teitcok
persona	winik	untu-tcugha / untu-winik	vinik
pava		nakmu'lup	
pavo		ahtsök	ahtso
perro	tsit	wi'tcuk	vitcu
pesado	ahl	amoh-al	al
pescado	tcai	byiyc'to-ha'	maluh
pescuezo			lukub
p- en frente		kE-lukup	
p- por atras		kE-picte	
petate	pOp	pOp	pop
pie	kOk'	Ok	ok
piedra	ton	tun	tc'a
piel		putci'le	patcihi
pierna		tkOk / kE-wOk	ka-vok
pito	amai	Emwi	
plata	tak'in	takin	
pluma	kŭkum	makup / vitc	maku
platano		haas	haas
poco	luunteb	tsintap	tsita
poniente	yaxubak-kaka-baitik	ko-pome-kin (where-sets-sun)	muku-pome-kin / baca-u-pome-kin
posole	mats	puhk'a	huka
primo	cavankil	kE-bitis'ä'	ka-pom
pulgar	sme-kap		noh-nikab
pulsera		tcutcui-kup	
quemar	k'utcik k'akel	pulu'	tu-pule
quemo		kE-pule	
raton		tsuk	ietsuk
red	tcokhax	tcip	
redondo		pete	
relámpago	nixkel, tsantsegwal / kaka-tcauuk	ah-lemi-tcawŭk	tcavuk
rio	ha	*rio*	
rodilla		kE-tenek	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 rojo	tsak	tcuk / tcik	tcuk
197 saliente	yax-loke-kakal / hwantec-lok-teul-kakal (lok = risen, teul = holy)	biete-kin / ko-tuts-kin (where-rises-sun)	muku-pase-kin / baka-pase-kin
sangre	tciite	tcitce'	tciite
sapo	pokOk	mutc	ah-mutc
seco	takin	ti'k'in	tikin
el s-, tiempo	takin-huc / kepel-kinal	amo-tik'in	noh-kin
sombrar	taunel	pEkE	tu pūkūb
semilla	tsumbul	ubūk	
sierras	*sierras*	tc-wits*	
sol	k'ak-al	kin	k'in
sombrero		hopo	hop'o
soplar		hutstañ	
subir		kE-topsen	
suegra	meelnial	kE-noh-nak	
suegro	nial	k-itcan	k-itcan
sueño	wayel		
sur	nitaa-lan (here-below) / hwantec-otc-kakal	*sur*	
tabaco		kuts	
tambor	kayo'	kowēn	hoven
techo	hol-na'	hai-te'	te-can
techo de palma	can	can	
tejer	waluyel / holel	hū'lvwehe	
tejedor	holel	hElū	
tia	mehun	kE-tcite (elder sister)	
tio	baxhun	kE-sukun (elder brother)	
tierra	lum	kaap	kab
tigre	tcox	ba'lum	ba'lam
tinaja	çip	Ots	pū
tirar (piedra)		la-kE-hulchi-tun	yak-ce-ka-Hulch
(escopeta)		kE-tcen-sombak	
(lanza)		kE-tcik-teen	
tortilla	gwax	dlaañ / gua' (all forms of cornbread)	va

*Really a directional term South. "Towards the Hills."

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

192
197

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
tortuga	ahk'	ak'	ak'
trueño	{stackwaiyel {aicwaiyel, t'om	{kweye {tcawûk*	tcavok*
tumbar (un arbol)		kE-yEsen	
uña (de hombre o de animal)		iteek	itchûk
verde	yac	yuc	yuc
vida	kucûl	anto-pican	halin†
viejo	{kaalic' {mamal	{tcupin‡ {su'§	nohcib
viento	ik'	ik	ta ik'
volar	wixhlel	kE-wil'e	
yacer			ya ka-cacutce
yerno	bal	kE-ni'E[n]	
zaraguate	bats	aHwats'	
1	hun	hun-pe¶	un-to
2	tcê-eb¶	tca'-pe	tca-to
3	oc-eb	uc'-pe	uc-to
4	tcan-eb	tcum'-pe	tcan-to
5	ho-eb	{hun'-ka (one hand) {no'pe	ho-to
6	hwak-eb	*seis*, etc., in Spanish	
7	huk-eb		
8	wacak-eb		
9	balun-eb		
10	lahun-eb		
11	bulutc-eb		
12	lastcai-yeb		
13	uc-lahun-eb		
14	tcan-lahun-eb		
15	ho-lahun-eb		
16	hwak-lahun-eb		
17	huk-lahun-eb		
18	wacak-lahun-eb		
19	balun-lahun-eb		
20	tab, tax.		
21	hun-ka-vinik		
30	lahun-is-tca-vinik		
40	tca-vinik		
50	ho-lahun-eb‖		
80	tcane-vinik		
100	hol-vinik		
400	hak		

*Cf. "Kolampago."
†Cf. monte. ‡Used for animate beings. §Used for inanimate objects.
¶The suffix = "times."
‖Obviously an error, cf. 15.

[pp 479-484 contain no Tzeltal material]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
Mexico NU1

nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *I*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle[1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios*, or townships, with a *cabecera*, or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias*, local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

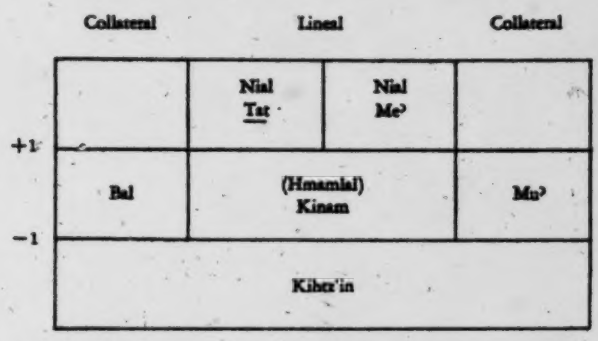
The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *mu?*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *ha?wan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as mu? and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as ha?wan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat ni?al* and *me? ni?al* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives



Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 796 794 174 592 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alni?al*, using the combined terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 197 192 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms *yermanotak*, *kumparetak*, and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

174
621 and Amatenango are at present divided into two endogamous barrios, remnants of these parcialidades.

173
101 The origin myth of Aguacatenango seems to agree with the historical evidence, both indicating that the Amatenango settlement was founded somewhat earlier. According to the people of Aguacatenango their ancestors came from a place named "Bahuitz," close to the region of Oxchuc. The elders of the group chose a place about 1,000 feet lower than the present location of the town. They had to move from this place (which now is the colonia of El Puerto, where Aguacatenango owns land for cultivation) because "they were bitten by insects and disliked the climate."

They arrived at the site of their present location, and asked for permission to occupy it from the people of Amatenango, from whom they obtained the land. While they were clearing the land for their houses, some men from Amatenango arrived to ask what they were doing. "We are cutting down the trees," they answered, and thus "Ɬeté," which means "cutting down," became their name. When they finished their work they sent some men to visit the Amatenango men and they found them gathering firewood. They asked again "What are you doing?" "Hɬob'tah," "gathering" the other responded, and that became their name. Both villages today call themselves and each other by these names.

Linguistics

174
197 The legend summarized above seems to imply that the two villages were populated by people who could speak to each other in the same language. This is confirmed by linguistic evidence.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Amatenango . Aguacatenango

197 The inhabitants of both villages speak closely related dialects of the Tzeltal language, one of the two groups forming the Tzeltal-Tzotzil, which split linguistically from the parent stock of the Mayan Family around the beginning of the Classic Period of Maya Civilization (McQuown , 1959).

Lexicostatistical counts and isoglosses show that the two communities cluster together, in dialect cores of less than 500 years of separation, as against several others in the study area of the Chiapas Project of the University of Chicago. Several indices were used for the count, including degree of Spanish borrowing (McQuown, 1956; 1959). They indicate the same degree of linguistic acculturation.

191 At present Tzeltal-Spanish bilingualism is common, perhaps with the exception of elder women, although the Spanish spoken is mainly "market-Spanish" and reduced in vocabulary.

Demography

175 621 166 During the Colonial Period and the Independence both villages remained stable, being endogamous, economically self-sufficient communities with fairly restricted ranges of territorial movement; this is in contrast with the present day situation in which settlements tend to split into separate communities through local migrations (McQuown et al., 1959, Section 2, Part I, page 6).

175 161 A comparison of censuses available for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests a high degree of demographic continuity with a slow, steady increase in population, although there is some evidence of population declines which took place in the

Change of Officials

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzoʔontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *meʔil kʼop*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nicʼanil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahkʼolnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *patʔotʼan* as the *tik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(kʼa huʼeletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(spʼis snisʔik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alfereces have delivered from the church.

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

[R 217-A]